PRO ARCHIA
('FOR ARCHIAS')

DATE: 62 BC
DEFENDANT: Aulus Licinius Archias
LAW: *lex Papia de peregrinis* (Papian law concerning aliens)
CHARGE: illegal exercise of citizen rights
PROSECUTOR: Grattius
DEFENCE ADVOCATE: Marcus Tullius Cicero
PRESIDING MAGISTRATE: Quintus Tullius Cicero
VERDICT: acquittal

Pro Archia is probably the least typical of Cicero's speeches, and is one of his most admired. It is a defence, not of a Roman aristocrat, but of a Syrian poet whose claim to Roman citizenship was disputed. The prosecution seem not to have had much of a case, and Cicero is therefore able to establish the technical grounds of Archias' claim within a few paragraphs (§§ 4–11). The rest of the speech is then devoted to an encomium of literature and this, coupled with the fact that *Pro Archia* is itself a literary product of the highest order, has ensured the speech's continuing popularity.

Archias was born at Antioch in Syria, probably in the mid-120s BC. At an early age he became famous throughout the east as a professional poet (writing in Greek), travelling from city to city; some of his poems were selected at around this time by Meleager for inclusion in his anthology, the *Garland* (although, since there were several poets named Archias, we cannot now be certain which poems are his). In the course of his travels Archias came to southern Italy (he was probably doing a round of festivals), and was granted honorary citizenship by some of the cities he visited. He finally arrived at Rome in 102, and was accepted into the household of the Luculli. The head of the family, Lucius Licinius Lucullus, went into exile, probably in 102, after being convicted of misconduct during his command in Sicily the previous year, but he had two teenage sons at home, Lucius and Marcus, and Archias no doubt assisted with their education. His connections were not, however, limited to the Luculli. He was sought out by many of the leading men in Rome, among them the Metelli, Marcus Aemilius Scaurus, the Catuli, and Lucius Crassus, and Cicero tells us that even the great Marius, who otherwise had little time for literature, was pleased with Archias' poem on the war against the Cimbri. During this period the young Cicero was also lucky enough to receive

instruction from Archias; gratitude towards his old Greek teacher is the reason he gives for defending him in this speech.

Some time later, Archias accompanied Marcus Lucullus on a visit to Sicily, and on their return journey Lucullus arranged for him to be granted honorary citizenship at Heraclea, a Greek city in Lucania. He continued, however, to live in Rome. In 91 the Social War broke out: Rome's allies (*socii*) were demanding Roman citizenship, which was quickly conceded. The first law by which this was done was the *lex Iulia* in 90. This was followed in 89 by a further measure, the *lex Plautia Papiria*, which among other provisions extended the citizenship to honorary citizens of federate states not resident in those states but nevertheless resident in Italy, provided that they reported to one of the praetors at Rome within sixty days. As an honorary citizen of Heraclea, which had been allied to Rome since 278, and being long resident in Rome, Archias duly reported to the praetor Metellus Pius within the specified period. Thus he became a Roman citizen, calling himself, in the Roman fashion, Aulus Licinius Archias (the family name Licinius was adopted out of respect for his patrons the Luculli).

He continued to live with the Luculli, accompanying Lucius Lucullus to the east in the 80s and again during the Third Mithridatic War (73–63 BC), in the period when Lucullus was in command of the Roman forces (73–67). Lucullus' command proved to be highly successful in the early stages of the war, but after pursuing Mithridates into Armenia in 69 he began to lose the support of his troops; when his subordinate Gaius Valerius Triarius was heavily defeated in 67, he was relieved of his command, and Pompey was appointed the following year to bring the war to a successful conclusion. These events gave rise to great hostility between Lucullus and Pompey, and the poem which Archias composed in praise of Lucullus' conduct of the war would have served to remind public opinion at Rome of the crucial part played by Lucullus in the defeat of Mithridates.

In 62 Archias became the object of a criminal prosecution. In 65 the tribune Gaius Papius had carried a law expelling from Rome all non-citizens who did not have a fixed residence in Italy: residents of Rome, therefore, who could not prove themselves Roman citizens, were liable to be prosecuted under the law and expelled from the city. The reason why Archias should have been prosecuted under this law is uncertain. The prosecutor, Grattius, is not otherwise known, but in view of the hostility between Lucullus and Pompey he is usually assumed to have been one of Pompey's supporters, and the prosecution is therefore interpreted as an attack by a supporter of Pompey on the protégé of Pompey's enemy Lucullus. This seems plausible: it is difficult to see why anyone should

otherwise have wished to call into question Archias' citizenship, which had gone unchallenged for twenty-seven years. But Archias was only a poet, and it would be too much to suppose that the trial had any great political significance. It is perhaps most likely that Grattius was acting on his own initiative to avenge an imagined slight to his patron (who was still away in Asia)—the slight being simply that Archias had given Lucullus extravagant praise in his poem on the Mithridatic War.

It used to be assumed that Cicero's defence was an act of hostility towards Pompey, but Cicero's policy during this period was, on the contrary, to keep in both with the conservatives in the senate, such as Lucullus, and with Pompey. In this same year he also defended Publius Sulla, probably Pompey's brother-in-law, and in April he was seeking to form closer ties with Pompey (*Fam.* 5.7); the one reference to him in *Pro Archia* (§ 24) is complimentary. Cicero knew well how to serve one side without offending the other: he had done it before in *Pro lege Manilia* (66), in which praise for Pompey is combined with a generous appreciation of Lucullus' achievements. In *Pro Archia*, he successfully avoids political controversy by concentrating on the status of literature, and insisting on that as the deciding factor in the case. Thus he is able to oblige the Luculli, and do a good turn to his old teacher—from whom he expected a laudatory poem in return (§§ 28, 31)—without risk of damaging his relations with Pompey.

Archias was acquitted, as he surely deserved to be: of Cicero's clients, Archias is one of those of whom we can say with most certainty that he was innocent of the crime of which he was charged. We hear of him again in 61, presumably still living in Rome, and contemplating writing a poem for the Metelli (*Att.* 1.16.15). He appears, however, never to have finished the poem on Cicero's consulship to which his former pupil looked forward so eagerly. In the end, therefore, Cicero had to make do with only a Latin poem—written by himself (*De consulatu suo*, 60 BC).

PRO ARCHIA

[1] If I have any natural talent, members of the jury—and I am aware how limited it is; or if I have any experience in public speaking—in which I do not deny that I am moderately well practised; or if there is any technical skill in my oratory which has been derived from application and training in the liberal arts—and I admit that I have never at any period of my life been averse to such training: if I do have any of these capabilities, then Aulus Licinius* here is entitled almost as of right to be among the very first to claim from me the benefits which they may bring. For when I look back in my mind over the time I have lived and recollect the remotest memories of my childhood, I am aware that from the earliest point that I can recall it was he who was my guide as I undertook and entered upon the course of my studies. So if this voice of mine, trained by his encouragement and teaching, has sometimes brought safety to other people, I must indeed do all I can to bring help and safety to the very man from whom I received the gift which has enabled me to help others and to save some.

[2] But in case anyone is surprised to hear me say this, given that my client's talents lie not in the theory and practice of oratory but in another direction, I should point out that I have never devoted myself exclusively to this one art. For all branches of culture are linked by a sort of common bond and have a certain kinship with one another. [3] Some of you may also be surprised that, in a statutory court and at a public trial, when a case is being heard before a praetor of the Roman people, a most excellent man,* and before the most principled jurors, and with such a large crowd of listeners, I should be using a manner of speaking which is out of keeping not only with the tradition of the courts but also with the customary style of forensic pleading. If this is so, then I beg of you that you will grant me an indulgence in this trial which is appropriate to this defendant here, and, I trust, not disagreeable to you—that you will allow me, speaking as I am on behalf of an eminent poet and a most learned man and before this crowd of highly educated people, this civilized jury, and such a praetor as is now presiding, to speak rather more freely on cultural and literary matters, and, as befits the character of a man

who because of his life of seclusion and study has had very little to do with the hazards of the courts, to employ a somewhat novel and unconventional manner of speaking. [4] If I feel that you have allowed and granted me this indulgence, I shall certainly convince you that Aulus Licinius here should not only not be removed from the list of Roman citizens, since he is indeed a citizen, but, were he not one, ought to have been added to it.

As soon as Archias had grown out of childhood and those studies which mould the years of boyhood with an outline of culture, he devoted himself to literary composition. At Antioch,* first of all, then a bustling and wealthy city and overflowing with liberal culture and men of the greatest learning (and where he was born, to high-ranking parents), he quickly began to outshine everybody else by his exceptional talents. Later in the other parts of Asia and all over Greece his arrival used to cause such a stir that the fame of his talents was exceeded by the eagerness with which he was awaited, and that in turn was exceeded by the admiration which he excited when he finally arrived. [5] Italy* was at that time full of Greek teaching and culture, and in Latium these studies were pursued more enthusiastically than they are in the same towns today; while here at Rome they were not neglected either, thanks to the untroubled political situation. The people of Tarentum, Rhegium, and Neapolis accordingly bestowed upon Archias citizenship and other honours, and all those who were able to recognize outstanding talent thought him worthy of their hospitality and acquaintance.

It was now, when his enormous fame had spread to places where he had never been seen in person, that he arrived in Rome; this was when Marius was consul with Catulus.* In these two consuls he found men of whom one could supply him with the greatest achievements to write about, while the other could give him not only achievements but also an appreciative ear. The Luculli* straight away received Archias into their house, although even at this time he was still of the age when the toga of boyhood is worn.* Indeed, it is a tribute not just to his literary talent but to his excellence of character that the house which first received him as a very young man is also the house which is most familiar to him in his old age. [6] Back in those days Archias was regarded with affection by the famous Quintus Metellus Numidicus and his son Pius;* his recitations were attended by Marcus Aemilius;* he was constantly in the company of

Quintus Catulus and his son;* his friendship was cultivated by Lucius Crassus;* and as for the Luculli, Drusus, the Octavii, Cato, and the entire family of the Hortensii,* he was on the closest terms with all of them and was treated by them with the greatest respect. In fact, he was courted not only by those who were eager to learn and listen, but also by such as pretended to be.

Some time later, after he had set out for Sicily with Marcus Lucullus* and was on his way back from that province with the same Lucullus, Archias arrived at Heraclea.* Since this was a town which enjoyed the fullest treaty rights with Rome, he wished to be enrolled among its citizens; and, being in any case considered worthy of the honour on his own merits, he obtained it from the Heracleans thanks also to the authority and influence of Lucullus. [7] Roman citizenship was then bestowed upon him by the law of Silvanus and Carbo, which reads: 'IF ANY PERSONS HAVE BEEN ENROLLED AS CITIZENS OF THE FEDERATE STATES, IF THEY HAVE HAD A FIXED RESIDENCE IN ITALY AT THE TIME WHEN THE LAW WAS PASSED, AND IF THEY HAVE DECLARED THEMSELVES BEFORE A PRAETOR WITHIN SIXTY DAYS . . . '* Since by this time Archias had had a fixed residence in Rome for many years, he declared himself before the praetor Quintus Metellus,* who was a close friend of his.

[8] If I am to speak about nothing except Archias' citizenship and the law, I have nothing more to say, and I rest my defence. So which of these facts, Grattius, do you think you can disprove? Do you deny that Archias was enrolled at Heraclea at the time stated? We have present here in court a man of the highest standing and the greatest possible conscientiousness and honour, Marcus Lucullus, who declares not that he thinks it, but that he knows it; not that he heard it, but that he saw it; not that he was present when it was done, but that he actually did it himself. We also have here representatives from Heraclea, men of the highest rank, who have made the journey to Rome specially to attend this trial and have come with written instructions and official evidence: they confirm that Archias was enrolled at Heraclea. Do you ask me at this point for the public records of the Heracleans, which everybody knows were destroyed when the public record office was burnt down in the Italian War?* It is absurd to say nothing of the proof which we have, but demand the proof which is not to be had; to keep quiet about what men can

remember, but insist on documentary evidence; and, when you have the conscientious evidence of a highly distinguished man and the oath and good faith of a most honourable town, to reject what cannot possibly be tampered with, but ask for records which you yourself say are often falsified. [9] Or did he not have a fixed residence at Rome—he who for so many years before obtaining the citizenship had made Rome the seat of all his possessions and his fortune? Or perhaps he failed to declare himself? On the contrary, he did do so, and his declaration was registered in records which, of all the records resulting from the declarations made before the board of praetors,* were the only ones to possess the full authority of public documents. For it is said that the citizen-lists of Appius* were carelessly maintained, and that no trust could be placed in any such records because of the unreliability of Gabinius* before he was prosecuted, and because of his downfall once he had been condemned. Yet Metellus, on the other hand, the most conscientious and orderly of men, was so painstaking that he actually went to the praetor Lucius Lentulus* and the panel of judges to say that he was worried at the erasure of a single name. These, then, are the lists of Metellus, and in them you will find no erasure over the name of Aulus Licinius.

[10] That is how the matter stands. What reason do you have, then, for doubting his citizenship—especially given that he had been enrolled in the citizen-lists of other towns too? When Greek communities were giving out their citizenship for nothing to numerous undistinguished individuals, people with low-grade skills or with none at all, I suppose that the people of Rhegium or Locri* or Neapolis or Tarentum, who were used to giving their citizenship to stage performers, were unwilling to bestow it upon a man whose talent had earned him the greatest glory! And a second point: when the other people had somehow smuggled their names into their towns' citizen-lists not only after the general granting of Roman citizenship* but even after the enactment of the Papian law,* and when he by contrast did not even make use of those other lists in which he is enrolled, because he always wanted to be counted as a Heraclean—under circumstances such as these, is Archias really to be driven out?

[11] You miss his name on the Roman census lists.* It is, I take it, a closely guarded secret that at the time of the last census Archias was on campaign with the illustrious general Lucius Lucullus; that during the previous one he was away in Asia with the same man who was

then quaestor; and that at the first census after his enfranchisement, the one held by Julius and Crassus, no section of the population was in fact registered at all. In any case, since the census does not constitute proof of citizenship, but only shows that someone who is registered was claiming to be a citizen at the time, I should add this: in the period in which you allege that Archias even in his own eyes did not have the rights of a Roman citizen, he nevertheless frequently made a will according to our laws, entered upon inheritances bequeathed to him by Roman citizens, and was nominated for a reward from the treasury by Lucius Lucullus as proconsul. Go and find some stronger arguments, then, if you can—because you are never going to be able to refute Archias' claim by citing his own opinions or those of his friends.

[12] You will no doubt ask me, Grattius, why I am so delighted with this man. The answer is that it is he who enables my mind to recover from the din of the courts and gives my tired ears a rest from the shouting and abuse. How do you imagine I could find material for my daily speeches on so many different subjects if I did not train my mind with literary study, and how could my mind cope with so much strain if I did not use such study to help it unwind? Yes, I for one am not ashamed to admit that I am devoted to the study of literature. Let others be ashamed if they have buried their heads in books and have not been able to find anything in them which could either be applied to the common good or brought out into the open and the light of day. But why should I be ashamed, gentlemen, given that in all the years I have lived my private pastimes have never distracted me, my own pleasures have never prevented me, and not even the need for sleep has ever called me away from helping anyone in his hour of danger or of need? [13] Who, then, can justly censure or reproach me if I allow myself the same amount of time for pursuing these studies as others set aside for dealing with their own personal affairs, celebrating festivals and games, indulging in other pleasures, and resting their minds and bodies, or as much as they devote to extended partying and to playing dice and ball? And I have all the more right to engage in such studies because it is from them that I am able to improve such oratorical ability as I have, an ability which has always been at the disposal of my friends when faced with prosecution. But even if my oratorical powers seem not to amount to much, I do at least recognize the source from which all that is highest

in them has been drawn. [14] For had I not in my youth been led by the teachings of many, and by all that I read, to the belief that there is nothing in life to be sought after more earnestly than excellence and honour, and that in the pursuit of these every physical torture and every risk of death or banishment should be held of little account, I would certainly never have exposed myself to so many great struggles and to the daily attacks from desperate men* which I have been facing, for the sake of your security. But all books, all the words of the wise and all history are full of examples which teach this lesson—examples which would all be lying in obscurity, had not the light of the written word been brought to them. How many finely executed portraits of the most valiant men have the Greek and Latin writers left us, and not only for our contemplation but for our emulation! Indeed, I myself, when serving as a magistrate, have always kept these men before my eyes, and have modelled myself on them, heart and mind, by meditating on their excellences.

[15] Someone will no doubt ask: 'Were those great men, then, whose virtues have been recorded in books—were they themselves experts in that learning which you praise so highly?' It would be difficult to state categorically that all of them were. Nevertheless, I am sure what my answer should be. I do admit that there have been many men of outstanding temperament and ability who were not well-read, but who achieved a natural self-possession and dignity of character because of their innate, almost godlike endowments. Moreover, I would even go so far as to say that character without learning has made for excellence and ability more often than learning without character. And yet I also firmly maintain this, that when a natural disposition which is noble and elevated is given in addition a systematic training in cultural knowledge, then something remarkable and unique comes about. [16] There were examples of this in our fathers' time, the younger Africanus,* a godlike man, and Gaius Laelius and Lucius Furius, men of the greatest moderation and self-control, also the elder Marcus Cato,* a most valiant man and the most learned of his day. These great men would surely never have taken up the study of literature had it not been of help to them in attaining and practising excellence. But suppose one could not point to this great benefit, suppose that the study of literature conferred only enjoyment: even then, I believe, you would agree that this form of mental relaxation broadens and enlightens the mind like no other.

For other forms of mental relaxation are in no way suited to every time, age, and place. But the study of literature sharpens youth and delights old age; it enhances prosperity and provides a refuge and comfort in adversity; it gives enjoyment at home without being a hindrance in the wider world; at night, and when travelling, and on country visits, it is an unfailing companion.

[17] It might be that we ourselves have no expertise in literary matters, and no taste for them. Even so, we should surely have to admire literary attainments when we recognize them in others. Is there anyone here who was so oafish and insensitive that he was not seriously affected when Roscius* died? Although he was an old man at the time of his death, his outstanding skill and pleasing manner made us think that he was wholly exempt from our common lot. Yet Roscius won such love from all of us merely because of the motions of his body: are we, then, to fail to respond to extraordinary motions of the mind and quickness of the intellect?

[18] How many times, members of the jury, have I seen this Archias—I am going to presume upon your kindness, since you are paying such close attention to me as I speak in this unconventional manner—how many times have I seen him, without his having written down so much as a single letter, improvise a large number of the finest verses about the topics of the day, and then, when asked to do it again, repeat his performance but with different words and expressions!* As for his written compositions, which were carefully and thoughtfully produced, I have seen them so highly acclaimed as to equal the praise given to the ancient writers. Should I not love such a man, should I not admire him, and should I not think it my duty to defend him by every means possible? Indeed, we have it on the highest and most learned authority that, whereas the other arts are made up of knowledge, rules, and technique, a poet is created by nature itself, activated by the force of his own mind, and inspired, as it were, by a kind of divine spirit. Rightly, therefore, does our own great Ennius* call poets 'sacred', because they seem to us to be marked out by a special gift and endowment of the gods. [19] So let the name of poet, gentlemen, which no barbarian race has ever treated with disrespect, be a sacred name among you, the most enlightened of men. Rocks and deserts respond to the poet's voice; ferocious wild animals are often turned aside by singing and stopped in their tracks:* shall we, then,

who have been brought up to all that is best, remain unmoved by the voice of a poet?

The people of Colophon say that Homer was a citizen of their city, the Chians claim him as theirs, the Salaminians put in a counter-claim, while the people of Smyrna are so confident that he belongs to them that they have even set up a shrine to him within their town; and there are a great many other places, too, which dispute the honour among themselves and fight over it. These cities, then, even go so far as to search out a foreigner who is dead, because he was a poet: are we, on the other hand, to turn away this man who is alive, and who belongs to us both in law and by his own choice? Are we to turn away a man who has for long now devoted all his efforts and all his talents to celebrating the glory and renown of the Roman people? For in his youth Archias touched on the war against the Cimbri,* and even won the approval of the famous Gaius Marius himself, who was thought to have little respect for literature. [20] But there is in fact nobody who is so hostile to the Muses that he would not readily allow his own deeds to be immortalized in verse. The famous Themistocles, the greatest of the Athenians, when asked which singer or performer he most enjoyed listening to, is said to have replied that he preferred 'the one who best proclaimed Themistocles' greatness'. It was for the same reason that Marius was so fond of Lucius Plotius:* he thought that his achievements could be made famous by Plotius' talent.

[21] The Mithridatic War,* a great and difficult undertaking pursued with many changes of fortune on land and sea, has been treated by Archias in its entirety. The books he wrote on it cast glory not only on the valiant and illustrious Lucius Lucullus, but also on the reputation of the Roman people. For it was the Roman people who, under Lucullus' leadership, opened up Pontus, fortified though it was by the resources of its king and by its geographical position. It was an army of the Roman people, led by the same general, which, although small in number, routed the countless forces of the Armenians. And it is to the Roman people, again under Lucullus' direction, that the glory belongs of having rescued and preserved the loyal city of Cyzicus from all the assaults of the king and from the very mouth and jaws of war. That astonishing naval battle off Tenedos, when Lucius Lucullus killed the enemy commanders and sank their fleet, will always be spoken of and proclaimed as ours: ours are the

trophies, ours the monuments, ours the triumphs. Those who use their talents to write about such events serve therefore to increase the fame of the Roman people.

[22] Our own Ennius was held in affection by the elder Africanus,* and it is even thought that a marble statue of him was placed on the tomb of the Scipios. Yet the praises of a poet shed glory not only on the person who is praised, but on the reputation of the Roman people also. Cato, the great-grandfather of our Cato,* was praised to the skies, and great honour was paid to Rome because of it. In short, all those great men like Maximus, Marcellus, and Fulvius* were praised, but not without each of us having a share in their glory. It was because of this that our ancestors bestowed Roman citizenship on the poet who had written these laudations, a man from Rudiae: are we, on the other hand, to disenfranchise this man of Heraclea who has been sought after by many communities, and legally enrolled in ours?

[23] But if anyone thinks that there is a smaller harvest of glory to be reaped from Greek verse than from Latin, he is seriously mistaken. Greek is read by almost every nation on earth, whereas Latin is confined to its own geographical limits, which are, you must admit, narrow. If, therefore, our achievements are limited only by the boundaries of the world, then we ought to desire that our glory and fame may penetrate as far as our weapons have reached. For literary commemoration not only brings honour to the nations whose achievements are described, it also acts as the strongest incentive to those who risk their lives for the sake of glory, driving them on to face danger and endure toil. [24] How many writers Alexander the Great is said to have kept with him to record his deeds! And yet, when standing before the tomb of Achilles at Sigeum, he said: 'Lucky young man, to have had Homer to proclaim your valour!' And rightly—because, had it not been for the *Iliad*, the tomb which covered Achilles' body would also have buried his memory. Again, the man whom we today call Great,* whose good fortune has been equal to his valour, did he not confer Roman citizenship upon Theophanes of Mytilene, who wrote about his deeds, before a full assembly of soldiers? And were not those brave men of ours, country men and soldiers though they were, so swayed by their love of glory that they shouted their approval with a great roar, feeling that they too had a share in the praise which had been heaped on their leader?

[25] If Archias, therefore, had not already been a Roman citizen by law, he could not, I take it, have succeeded in being awarded the citizenship by some general! Sulla, when giving the citizenship to Spaniards and Gauls, would no doubt have turned down his request! And yet we ourselves saw what Sulla did when a third-rate poet of the people passed up to him a booklet containing an epigram about him, merely something set out as elegiacs: he immediately ordered a reward to be given to him from the proceeds of the property he was engaged in selling,* but on condition that the poet never wrote anything again. Sulla thought that the efforts of a bad poet nevertheless deserved some reward: would he not therefore have actively sought out the talent, literary skill, and fluency of Archias? [26] Again, would Archias have failed to obtain what he wanted, either at his own request or through the Luculli, from Quintus Metellus Pius, a close friend of his who had given Roman citizenship to many other people? Especially when Metellus was so anxious for his own deeds to be written about that he even gave a hearing to some poets from Corduba,* whose style was somewhat coarse and foreign?

This is in fact something which cannot be denied, and so must not be concealed, but should be openly admitted: we are all motivated by the desire for praise, and the best people are the ones who are most attracted by glory. The philosophers who write treatises 'on despising glory' actually inscribe their own names on those very books! In the actual writings in which they scorn publicity and fame they want to be publicized and named! [27] Decimus Brutus,* a leading citizen and a great general, decorated the entrances to his temples and monuments with poems by Accius, who was a close friend of his. Then again, the great Fulvius,* who took Ennius with him on his staff when he fought against the Aetolians, showed no hesitation in devoting the spoils of Mars to the Muses. In a city, therefore, in which generals, scarcely before putting aside their arms, have given honour to the name of poet and the shrines of the Muses, it would indeed be wrong for jurors, wearing the toga of peacetime, to fail to respect the honour of the Muses and the well-being of poets.

[28] So that you will do this all the more readily, members of the jury, I shall now reveal my feelings to you and own up to what I may call my passion for glory—a passion too intense, perhaps, but nevertheless an honourable one. The measures which I took during my consulship, with your collaboration, for the security of this city and

empire, for the lives of our citizens, and for the country as a whole, these have become the subject of a poem on which Archias has now started work.* When I heard what he had written I thought it was an important project and an agreeable one, and so I engaged him to complete the task. For merit looks for no reward for the toil and danger which it has to face, save only praise and glory. If you take that away, gentlemen, what incentive do we have, in life's brief and transitory career, to involve ourselves in great undertakings? [29] Certainly, if the mind had no prior conception of posterity, and if it were to confine all its thoughts within those same bounds in which the span of our life is contained, then it would not crush itself under such enormous labours, nor would it be troubled by so many sleepless responsibilities, nor have to fight so often for life itself. But as things are, there exists in every good man a kind of noble instinct which excites the mind night and day with the spur of fame and reminds it that the memory of our name must not be allowed to disappear when our life is ended, but must be made to last for ever. [30] Or are we all to appear so small-minded as to think that all our achievements will cease to exist at the same moment as we do ourselves—we who undergo toil and mortal danger in the service of the state, and who throughout our whole lives never once stop to draw breath in peace and tranquillity? Many distinguished men have been careful to leave statues and portraits behind them, likenesses not of their minds, but of their bodies: ought we not greatly to prefer to leave behind us a representation of our designs and characters, moulded and finished by artists of the highest ability? For my part, even when I was actually carrying out the actions I took, I considered that I was spreading and disseminating a knowledge of them for the world to remember for ever. And whether I shall have no awareness, after I have died, of the world's memory of me, or whether, as the wisest men have maintained, that recollection will indeed touch some part of my being, I do at least derive pleasure at this moment from the thought and hope that my achievements will be remembered.

[31] Therefore, members of the jury, protect a man whose honourable character you see confirmed by the high rank of his friends and their long-standing friendship with him; whose talent is such as you may judge it to be when you observe that it has been sought out by men whose own talents are outstanding; and whose case is one

which is supported by the sanction of the law, the authority of a town, the testimony of Lucullus, and the citizen-lists of Metellus. Under these circumstances, gentlemen, if you consider that talents such as his deserve the blessing not only of men, but of the gods as well, then I entreat you to take him under your protection. He is a man who has always done honour to you, to your generals, and to the achievements of the Roman people, who has undertaken to give an everlasting testimonial of praise to these civil dangers which you and I recently faced together, and who follows that calling which has always been declared and believed by all men to be sacred: let him therefore be seen to have been rescued by your humanity rather than injured by your severity.

[32] As regards the technicalities of the case, I have spoken briefly and in a straightforward manner, as is my custom, and I trust that you are all satisfied, gentlemen, with what I have said. As for the part of my speech which was out of keeping with the forum and the tradition of the courts—when I discussed my client's talents and literary studies in general—I hope that this has been received in good part by you, gentlemen, as I know it has been by the man who is presiding over this court.

PRO ARCHIA

1 *Aulus Licinius*: to establish Archias' Roman credentials at the outset, Cicero refers to him by his Roman names, without the addition of 'Archias'.

3 *a most excellent man*: the ancient scholia on this passage (175 Stangl) reveal that the praetor in charge of the court was Cicero's brother Quintus. After his praetorship he governed Asia from 61 to 58.

4 *Antioch*: Antioch in Syria, the most important city in the Greek east after Alexandria. It did not become part of the Roman empire until 64 BC.

5 *Italy*: southern Italy is meant.

when Marius was consul with Catulus: Gaius Marius and Quintus Lutatius Catulus were consuls in 102, Marius for the fourth time. Marius had concluded the Jugurthine War in 105, and in 102 defeated the Teutoni at Aquae Sextiae. The following year Marius and Catulus defeated the Cimbri at Vercellae (see second note on § 19 below). Catulus was noted for his cultural interests, and two short poems written by him survive. Cicero's method of naming the consuls here deviates from the usual formula to give greater prominence to Marius.

The Luculli: Lucius Licinius Lucullus and his brother Marcus Terentius Varro Lucullus. Lucius was the consul of 74, who fought against Mithridates from 73 until his replacement in 67 (see note on § 21 below); Marcus was consul in 73. Their father Lucius Licinius Lucullus (praetor in 104 and commander in Sicily in 103) was condemned for misconduct in Sicily and went into exile, probably in 102, the year of Archias' arrival in Rome.

when the toga of boyhood is worn: *praetextatus* means 'of an age to wear the purple-bordered toga'. Roman boys wore the purple-bordered toga (*toga praetexta*, also worn by curule magistrates) until their mid-teens, when they formally assumed the toga of manhood (*toga virilis*). It is impossible to believe that Archias had been honoured by Greek states at so early an age, and Cicero said above (§ 4) that Archias had already 'grown out of childhood' before he began his tour. Cicero is therefore overstating Archias' youth. He is also misleading the jury over Archias' nationality at this time: since he was not yet a Roman citizen, he would not have worn a toga of any type.

6 *Quintus Metellus Numidicus and his son Pius*: Quintus Caecilius Metellus, consul in 109, fought against Jugurtha, king of Numidia, from 109 until his replacement by Marius in 107; in 106 he celebrated a triumph and assumed the *cognomen* Numidicus. In 100 he was exiled for refusing to swear to observe Saturninus' agrarian law, but was recalled in 98 as a

result of the efforts of his son, also named Quintus Caecilius Metellus, who consequently acquired the *cognomen* Pius ('Dutiful'). Pius was the praetor of 89 from whom Archias received Roman citizenship (§ 7); he afterwards became consul in 80. He was dead by the time of Archias' trial.

Marcus Aemilius: Marcus Aemilius Scaurus, consul in 115, censor in 109, and *princeps senatus* (leader of the senate). Cicero admired him as a man who had risen to the highest seniority without the advantages of birth and wealth (see fifth note on *Mur.* 16).

Quintus Catulus and his son: the father has been mentioned above (§ 5); the son, also named Quintus Lutatius Catulus, was consul in 78 and censor in 65.

Lucius Crassus: Lucius Licinius Crassus, consul in 95 and censor in 92. He was a famous orator and an important influence on Cicero, who cast him as the principal speaker in his dialogue *De oratore*.

Drusus, the Octavii, Cato, and . . . the Hortensii: Marcus Livius Drusus was a pupil of Lucius Crassus; as tribune in 91 he proposed a series of reforms which led to his assassination and precipitated the Social War. The Octavii included Gnaeus Octavius, the consul of 87. Cato was the brother-in-law of Drusus and father of the famous Cato who committed suicide in 46. The Hortensii included Quintus Hortensius Hortalus, Cicero's oratorical rival and, later, partner.

Marcus Lucullus: see third note on § 5 above. The date and purpose of his visit to Sicily are unknown. The Servilius who was prosecuted, perhaps in 91, by Marcus and his brother Lucius is not likely to have been the same man as the Servilius who was praetor in Sicily in 102, and it is therefore unlikely that Marcus was travelling to Sicily to collect evidence for his prosecution, as has been suggested. See E. Badian, *Klio*, 66 (1984), 301–6.

Heraclea: in the centre of the instep of Italy, in Lucania. Its treaty with Rome was granted in 278 BC (cf. *Pro Balbo* 21, 50).

7 *IF ANY PERSONS . . . SIXTY DAYS*: a quotation from the *lex Plautia Papiria* (89 BC), carried by the tribunes Marcus Plautius Silvanus and Gaius Papirius Carbo. The main law by which Rome conceded the citizenship to her Italian allies was the *lex Iulia* (90 BC). The *lex Plautia Papiria* was a supplementary law which extended the citizenship to men in Archias' position, that is, honorary citizens of federate states not resident in those states but nevertheless resident in Italy. The *lex Iulia* evidently did not provide for such cases. See A. N. Sherwin-White, *The Roman Citizenship*[2] (Oxford, 1973), 150–2.

Quintus Metellus: Pius (see first note on § 6 above).

8 *Italian War*: i.e. the Social War (91–87 BC), the war between Rome and her Italian allies (*socii*); it resulted in the extension of Roman citizenship to all Latin and Italian communities south of the Po.

9 *the board of praetors*: there were at this date six praetors each year. Four (of 89 BC) are named below: Appius, Gabinius, Metellus (Pius), and Lentulus. It appears from this passage that declarations of citizenship could be made before any of them (therefore at § 7 *PRAETOREM* has been translated as 'A PRAETOR', not 'THE PRAETOR').

Appius: Appius Claudius Pulcher (consul in 79), the father of Cicero's enemy (from 61 BC onwards) Publius Clodius Pulcher.

Gabinius: Publius Gabinius, convicted some time before 70 of extortion when governor of Achaea (*Divinatio in Caecilium* 64).

Lucius Lentulus: Lucius Cornelius Lentulus, evidently praetor in charge of a *quaestio de civitate* (court concerning citizenship).

10 *Locri*: Locri was not mentioned at § 5 when Cicero listed the towns which gave Archias their citizenship: it may have dropped out of the manuscripts there, or been wrongly added here.

the general granting of Roman citizenship: i.e. the *lex Iulia* (see first note on § 7 above).

the Papian law: the *lex Papia* (65 BC). This was the law under which Archias was being tried. It was carried by the tribune Gaius Papius, and sought to expel from Rome all non-citizens who did not have a fixed residence in Italy.

11 *the Roman census lists*: the census list was a register of all adult male citizens, compiled by the censors in theory every five years, but in practice at irregular intervals. The first census after Archias' enfranchisement was that of Lucius Julius Caesar and Publius Licinius Crassus in 89, but it was abandoned. The next was in 86; this time it was successfully completed (463,000 citizens were listed), but Archias was not included because he was abroad with Lucius Lucullus (see third note on § 5 above), who was serving under Sulla in the eastern Mediterranean. The next census was in 70 (910,000 citizens): Archias was again with Lucullus, on campaign in Asia. Further censuses were attempted in 65 and 64, but Cicero ignores them because they were abandoned.

14 *desperate men*: an allusion to the Catilinarian conspirators.

16 *the younger Africanus*: Publius Cornelius Scipio Aemilianus Africanus, the destroyer of Carthage (146) and Numantia (133), consul in 147 and 134, and censor in 142. He was noted for his cultural interests and his philhellenism, as were his friends Gaius Laelius (consul in 140) and Lucius Furius Philus (consul in 136). Cicero's dialogue *De republica* idealizes the society of Scipio and his friends, thus giving rise to the notion of a 'Scipionic circle', an idea now downplayed by scholars. Laelius is given the leading part in Cicero's *De amicitia*.

the elder Marcus Cato: Marcus Porcius Cato, consul in 195 and censor of notorious severity (censors had the power to expel unworthy members of the senate) in 184. He was a famous orator and a stern moralist, and was opposed, in spite of his Greek learning (reflected especially in his

historical work), to the rapid hellenization which Roman society underwent during his lifetime. He is the central figure in Cicero's *De senectute*, in which Scipio Aemilianus and Laelius also appear.

17 *Roscius*: Quintus Roscius Gallus, a famous actor of tragic and, particularly, comic parts. Cicero hopes that the jury's fondness for Roscius will dispose them favourably towards Archias, although the two men were artists of quite a different kind, and Archias was a Syrian by birth. Early in his career Cicero had spoken in civil cases on behalf of Roscius' brother-in-law (*Pro Quinctio* 77) and, later, Roscius himself; both speeches survive, *Pro Quinctio* and *Pro Roscio comoedo*.

18 *improvise . . . words and expressions!*: Archias' powers of improvisation are mentioned by Quintilian (*Inst.* 10.7.19); but this passage will be the source of his information.

Ennius: Quintus Ennius (239–169 BC), from Rudiae in the heel of Italy (§ 22), the greatest of the early Latin poets. He was brought to Rome by the elder Cato and befriended by the Fulvii Nobiliores, who took him on campaign with them and obtained Roman citizenship for him (cf. the Luculli and Archias). Ennius' greatest work was the *Annales*, an epic poem on Roman history down to the elder Scipio Africanus.

19 *Rocks and deserts . . . tracks*: evoking the myths of Orpheus and Amphion. Orpheus charmed animals, trees, and stones with his music; Amphion with his caused the walls of Thebes to arise.

the Cimbri: a German tribe which migrated from north Jutland towards Italy, defeating Roman armies in 113, *c.*109, and 105 before being destroyed by Marius at Vercellae in 101 (see second note on § 5 above).

20 *Lucius Plotius*: Lucius Plotius Gallus was the first person to teach declamation in Latin (*c.*92 BC). The young Cicero was prevented from studying under him because his mentors (men such as Lucius Crassus: see fourth note on § 6 above) thought that his rhetorical training should be Greek (Suetonius, *De grammaticis et rhetoribus* 26).

21 *The Mithridatic War*: i.e. the Third Mithridatic War (73–63 BC), fought against Mithridates VI of Pontus. Lucius Lucullus relieved Cyzicus in 72, conquered Pontus between 72 and 70, and took control of part of Armenia in 69, after which he lost the loyalty of his troops. The victory off Tenedos (near the mouth of the Hellespont) took place some time before the summer of 71; as at *Man.* 21, Cicero ignores the fact that it was won by Lucullus' legate Gaius Valerius Triarius, not by Lucullus himself (Memnon 48.1). Cicero makes no mention of Pompey, who concluded the war between 66 and 63, after Lucullus had been relieved of his command in 67. In view of the hostility between Lucullus and Pompey, Archias' poem must have stopped short of Pompey's appointment, and Cicero will therefore be being over-generous to Lucullus in claiming that Archias treated the war 'in its entirety'.

22 *the elder Africanus*: Publius Cornelius Scipio Africanus, the conqueror of

Hannibal (202), consul in 205 and 194, and censor in 199. The tomb of the Scipios still exists, about a kilometre out of Rome on the Appian Way. Although there was accommodation inside for at least eighteen Scipios, only three individuals had their statues on the outside of the tomb: the elder Africanus, his brother Lucius, and Ennius. See Livy 38.56.4; L. Richardson, *A New Topographical Dictionary of Ancient Rome* (Baltimore and London, 1992), 359 f.

22 *our Cato*: i.e. the younger Marcus Porcius Cato (tribune this year, later praetor in 54), the man who joined in Murena's prosecution and who committed suicide at Utica in 46. For his great-grandfather Cato the censor, see second note on § 16 above.

Maximus, Marcellus, and Fulvius: other men who were eulogized in the *Annales* of Ennius. Quintus Fabius Maximus Verrucosus (consul in 233, 228, 215, 214, and 209, censor in 230, and dictator in 221 and 217) was one of the leading generals in the Second Punic War, noted for his successful policy of avoiding direct confrontation with Hannibal (hence his nickname 'Cunctator', meaning 'Delayer', alluded to by Ennius in the line 'One man by delaying restored our country to us', *Annales* 363 Skutsch). Marcus Claudius Marcellus (consul in 222, 215, 214, 210, and 208) also fought against Hannibal, and was most famous for his capture of Syracuse from the Carthaginians in 211. Fabius and Marcellus were called the 'shield of Rome' and the 'sword of Rome' respectively. Marcus Fulvius Nobilior (consul in 189 and censor in 179) took Ennius with him when fighting the Aetolian War during his consulship (§ 27); see second note on § 18 above.

24 *the man whom we today call Great*: Pompey, i.e. Gnaeus Pompeius, called 'Magnus' ('Great') from 81 BC; he took the historian Theophanes of Mytilene with him during his Mithridatic campaign (66–63 BC).

25 *the property he was engaged in selling*: the reference is to the proscriptions of 82–81 BC, in which Sulla's political enemies were killed and their property sold at auction.

26 *Corduba*: the capital of the province of Baetica (in southern Spain). Seneca and Lucan came from Corduba in the first century AD.

27 *Decimus Brutus*: Decimus Junius Brutus Callaicus, the consul of 138. He won victories in Iberia in 138–136 and was the patron of Lucius Accius (170–*c.*85 BC), the tragic poet, whom Cicero knew in his youth. Accius wrote the dedication for the temple of Mars built by Brutus to commemorate his Spanish victories.

the great Fulvius: see third note on § 22 above.

28 *a poem on which Archias has now started work*: Archias' poem on Cicero's suppression of the Catilinarian conspiracy (63 BC) seems never to have come to fruition (*Att.* 1.16.15).